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A . . .
L E T T E R

To a certain
Distinguished PATRIOT,

And most
Applauded ORATOR,

On the Publication of his
Celebrated SPEECH on the *Sea-*
ford PETITION in the *Magazines*; K

With suitable REMARKS on the
Performer and the Performance;
Together with a clear Detection of the
Cause of its present Publication.

Ægrotant Medici, fraudantur jure periti. OVID.



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L. D. T. E. R.

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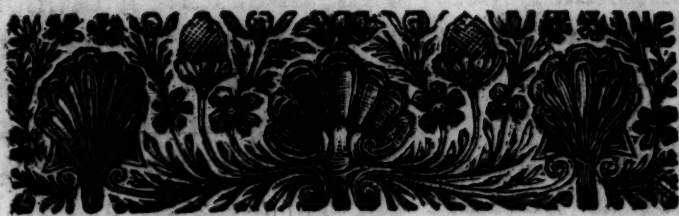
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A
L E T T E R

To a certain
Distinguished P A T R I O T, &c.

S I R,



T would be absurd to suppose you astonished at any Man's addressing you in Print, who have lately addressed all the World in the same Way; nor need I make any excuse for the Liberty I take with a Gentleman, who has taken such Liberties with all that every honest *Briton* holds sacred. On the contrary, I presume, it is for the sake of hearing other Men's Sentiments, that you have been so very fond of publishing

publishing your own, or at least it cannot throw you into any Surprise, for having been called to order when you spoke, and having been so loudly commended for rising with so good a Grace, and not blushing as Boys are apt to do after a Fall; I am perswaded you will look upon this, as the fairest Occasion in the World, of having recourse again to the Press, since nothing can be easier than for a Man who speaks what is fit to be put in Print, to write a Pamphlet, and therefore giving you so fair Occasion to do this, I presume the Obligation lies on your Side, and that you will consider this Address to you as a Favour.

What your Motives were to send Abroad this very singular Performance, and that too in such a Manner as I am well assured there is not a Corporation in the Kingdom, that hath not before this Time received it; is impossible for any Man who hath not the Honour to be of your Privy Council to guess, but upon the Face of the Thing, it appears to be an Appeal from their Representatives to the People. You say, at the very Entrance of your Speech, *that you had not the least Imagination any Thing you had to offer to the House, would vary the Sentiments of any Person*

Person in it. To what End then did you Speak? You tell us, that indeed very plainly ; it was you say, *to do yourself Justice*, and this Publication very clearly shews with whom you meant to do yourself Justice, that is, with the Nation, whose Sentiments you must either suppose to be the same with your own, or else you must conceive your Arguments weighty enough to prevail upon many of them to Change their Sentiments, since it can never be conceived that so Wise a Man, and so warm a Patriot, so eloquent a Person, and so sage a Politician, would turn first Speaker, and then Author, to no manner of Purpose.

But perhaps you will say, this is begging the Question, and that at least, for any Thing I or any Body else knows ; this fine Speech was published against your Consent, or at least, without your Knowledge ; which, in the first Place, I beg Leave to say, is improbable from the very Title of it, which in the *Magazine* before me, stands thus, Mr. P——R's *Speech in the H— of C——s upon the Seaford Petition, in Answer to Mr. P—TT*. You cannot but know, Sir, that where Speeches have not been authentick, they have been ushered into the World, as coming from certain political

A 3

Clubs,

Clubs, as spoken in the Senate of *Lilliput*, or as dropped out of the Pocket of the Man in the Moon. This on the contrary, is very clear and explicit, it is not the Speech of this Body, or that, but of the ingenious Mr. P—— upon a very particular Occasion, and in Answer to a particular Person: In the next Place, you will allow me to remark that when surreptitious Speeches have come Abroad, the Persons to whom they were attributed, have thought it incumbent upon them to disavow such Harangues, and it has likewise been customary for the Printers and Publishers, who have been so imposed upon, to recant, to acknowledge their Mistake, and to ask Pardon. But notwithstanding this Speech has been now a Fortnight in Print, and has been Re-printed in many different Parts of this Island, you have not thought fit to disavow it, or to oblige those concerned to recant, or ask your Pardon. It may be, you intend to complain to the H——, for that it is a notorious Breach of Privilege to print Things of this Kind without Leave, is very certain; but as this may never happen, and if it does happen, must come at some Months distance, when this Speech will have had all the Effect it possibly can have; there seems to be no other Method of preventing its bad Effects, but

but this that I have taken. The Antidote ought to follow the Poison as soon as may be, and therefore having waited a due Time, to see whether you resented this insult of tacking your Name to a Libel, I think myself at full Liberty to consider it as such, and to refute it; and now, Sir, having shewn you what my Business is, I shall, without farther Ceremony, go about it.

In order to proceed regularly, one must in the first Place consider the Argument of this fine Speech, which, in my humble Opinion, would have looked much better, as I am sure it would have been more regular had it stood in Italics, immediately under the Title, and not been degraded to the Bottom of the Page, in the Shape of a Note. Whatever the Reason might be for its standing there, thus it stands. “ A
 “ Petition of the E. of *M—l—sex* and
 “ *W——m H— G—ge*, Esq; was presented to the House, and read, complaining
 “ of undue Practices before, and at the
 “ Election for the Town and Port of
 “ *S—ford*, in the County of *Suffex*. As
 “ the Complaint of this Petition was
 “ grounded on one of the standing Resolutions, the House was moved, that that Resolution which was renewed in the beginning of the Session, be read, which
 “ was

“ was done as follows. *That it is an*
 “ *high infringement of the Liberties and*
 “ *Privileges of the Commons of Great*
 “ *Britain, for any Lord of Parliament,*
 “ *or any Lord Lieutenant of any County,*
 “ *to concern themselves in Elections of*
 “ *Members to serve for the Commons in*
 “ *Parliament.* A Motion was then made,
 “ and the Question being put, that the
 “ Matter of the said Petition be heard at
 “ the Bar of this House ; after debate, it
 “ passed in the Negative, by a Majority
 “ of one Hundred and Fifty-one.”

We next meet with a couple of References, that stand in a kind of retrograde Order, for the first ought to be last, and the last first. The Points to which they refer us, are the State of *Se—ford* Election upon the Poll, and the Fate of the Petition in the House ; let us for Perspicuity's Sake transcribe them.

Seaford, Sussex.

4	<i>William Hay</i>	— — —	49
3	<i>Rt. Hon. William Pitt</i>		49
	<i>Hon. Thomas Hall Gage</i>		23
	<i>Rt. Hon. E. Middlesex</i>		19

The Meaning of all this, if I understand
 it right, is this, that the two Gentlemen
 first

first set down, have served in this Quality, one four, and the other three Parliaments, and that the Numbers upon the Poll for them, were Forty-nine each; whereas the Votes for the other two, taken together, are not quite so many.

The other Reference informs us, that on *Thursday November 19, 1747*, the Petition of the E. of *Middlesex* and Mr. *Gage* was dismissed, 247 to 96, and the Right Honourable Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Hay*, confirm'd Sitting Members for *Seaford*. All which seems to be very regular, and consistent, for I presume, that it is highly agreeable to the Constitution, and to the Custom of Parliament, that such as have most Votes, should not only be returned, but continued Sitting Members; nor is it rendered at all improbable from these Gentlemen being so often chose, that they had the most Votes, neither can I conceive, that, in the Eye of the candid Reader, it will pass for any thing short of full Proof, that the Question was very plain, when it was carried by so great a Majority, in so full a House.

Let us now hear, Sir, what you are supposed to have said upon this Occasion, in order to shew the great Weight of the
Substance

Substance of that Petition, which the
 Majority of our Representatives thought
 had so little in it, that even after all you
 had said they rejected it. I would
 not willingly make too free with your
 Speech, but at the same Time, I cannot
 argue with you but from your own Words,
 which in relation to Matters of Fact are
 these, " Sir, whatever Pains former Mini-
 " sters may have taken for this Purpose,
 " what undue Methods soever they may
 " have used to gain to themselves a corrupt-
 " ed Majority in this House, I believe
 " History is not able to produce an Instance
 " equal to the present, of a Wise and great
 " Statesman taking upon himself the Ho-
 " nourable Employment of being an Agent
 " at a Borough : It was not enough to
 " signify his Commands by his Underlings,
 " it was not enough to solicit Votes in his
 " own Person ; the Votes, it seems, could
 " not be trusted out of his Presence, and
 " therefore they were to be attended even
 " to the Poll. But, Sir, this great Humility
 " and Condescension in a Minister, would,
 " in former Times, have been construed,
 " a most notorious Invasion of the Rights
 " of the People, and of the Priviledges of
 " this House. And, Sir, what will the
 " People say to us ? or what will they
 " think of our Independency, if we are not as
 " jealous

“ jealous of their Rights, and as tenacious
 “ of our own Privileges, as any of our
 “ Predecessors have formerly been ? What
 “ will they think, Sir, if after seeing one
 “ Parliament dissolved, in a new and
 “ unprecedented I had almost said, an
 “ unconstitutional Manner ; they shall
 “ be told, that the Minister’s have been
 “ nominating their Representatives in the
 “ next, even without the Ceremony of a
 “ *Conge d’ elire* ? But, Sir, still further,
 “ what will they think if they shall be
 “ told, that this proceeding of the Ministers
 “ has been laid before the House of Com-
 “ mons, and that the House of Commons
 “ *will not, or dare not, censure him.*”

One plainly sees, from the Vehemency
 and Warmth of these Expressions, that
 you had talked yourself into an Opinion
 of there being some Coherence between
 what you said, and what is set forth to be
 the Argument of your Speech ; and yet,
 I doubt, it will be very difficult to find
 this out. In the first Place, Sir, it is most
 apparent, that you take a Resolution of
 the H—— of C—— to be equal to an
 A—— of P———t, and to be as much the
 Law of the Land, otherwise all you say
 has no Meaning. But pray, Sir, did ever
 any Lawyer talk thus ? did the P——s of
 G——

G—— B—— ever submit to a Prescription of where they should go, or where they should not go, provided that where ever they went, they did nothing but what they legally might do? I have heard that the Long Parliament voted Colonel Goring's driving through a Town with a Coach and Six, to be levying Arms; I fancy, had you been employed to draw an Impeachment, you would have set forth in it, that a certain noble Person did *vi & Armis*, i. e. in his Star and Garter compel the Electors at *Seaford* to give their Votes. You are very angry, Sir, that this Matter was treated with Ridicule; yet, will you gravely say, that the Substantial Men in this Kingdom, who have a right to Vote, are like to be awed or corrupted by the Sight of a Nobleman? But you seem to think, that the standing Order of the House is broke though, and this makes you talk of Rights and Priviledges. The Words of that Resolution, as you have produced it, say, that Lords of Parliament are not to *concern* themselves in Elections, does it follow, that they may not be Spectators of them, or did you ever know it taken in this Sense, either at the last, or any other general Election? But to shew you that I do not desire to cavil with you about Words, I will presume to go farther, and say,

say, that allowing all you have assumed to be true, tho' there is not a Tittle of it so, yet, upon the Face of the Resolution, there was no Ground for your Argument, because there neither was, or could be any Breach of Privilege, understanding it even in that very extensive Sense in which you take it, or would be thought to take it, and which Breach of Privilege furnishes you with such a flux of warm Language.

You cannot but know, Sir, that according to the Rules of Reason and of all our Courts of Justice, Penal Laws are to be interpreted according to the Letter ; and therefore, where there is no Letter, there can be no Law. No Man can be punished for the Breach of a Penal Statute that is expired ; no Man can be legally punished for transgressing a Law not made. If this be so, and that it is so, I dare say, you will not deny, why did you talk of Censure ? The standing Orders of the House are certainly no longer binding than while the P——t continues, that made them, otherwise, why are they renewed ? But the standing Order of the last P——t was expired by its Dissolution ; and therefore, whoever appeared at Sea-
ford

ford could not offend against that, otherwise a Resolution would be more binding than an Act of Parliament, for that, when expired is nothing. It could be no Offence against the Order read at the Beginning of the Debate, for that was not made. Would you censure then without Ground, or would you censure *ex post facto*, if you would, I am sure that must be a high Breach of the Liberty of the *British* Subject, and it will be always esteemed both Wisdom and Justice in the House, not to censure in such Cases, tho' urged to it by such warm Men as you. Where there is no Law, there can be no Offence, and it is our great Blessing, that we live in a Country that acknowledges this just Maxim, for we see to what a Height the Madness of some Men may swell, who under Colour of being rigidly just and virtuous out of Measure, would make it penal for an *Englishman* of great Property to be so much as present at the Election of a Member, who is to have it in his Power to tax his Property as much as the meanest Man's in the County.

The strained and mournful Eulogy to the Memory of a great Man deceased, puts one in Mind of the Crocodile's Tears, for many a Crocodile have we seen weeping

ing over his Grave, that were very busy, when he was devoured. He was indeed a great and able Statesman, his long Administration was an Honour and Benefit to his Country, but the Honour would have been greater, I mean, for his Country, if he had died in Peace, and so might also the Benefits arising from his Administration, but he was barbarously harrassed and hunted while living, and by those who deplore him now he is no more, and principally for that Cause. They are now forced to confess, that those Measures were just and reasonable, which they had formerly condemned as weak and wicked, they are compelled to acknowledge that he knew his Country much better than they did, and that it was the Peace, the Plenty, the Prosperity which his prudent Precautions had procured; that made the Nation so wild and wanton as to give in to the extravagant Notions of these rampant Reformers, and bring down the hoary Head of that wise and worthy Person with sorrow to the Ground. But, Sir, as you admit the Fact, be pleased to reflect, that undoubtedly it ought to teach us Caution; let us not be guilty of the same Error, or at least not so soon. There was a great Space of Time between the Period in which the *Athenians* gave up *Socrates*

to

to Injustice, and murdered *Phocion*, and with all your Eloquence, Sir, I hope you will not stir us up to such another Act as that you mentioned, in the Compass of less than ten Years.

Yet you bid very fair for it, the following is a very fine Instance of the incendiary Stile, and may I pass for a Block-head; if I believe any Man's Lungs in the Kingdom stronger than yours, in the Blowing the Fire of Sedition; but Providence be praised, we can now distinguish between an Oracle and a pair of Bellows, otherwise what follows might have gone a great Way towards promoting a Secession, and all in good Time, a Rebellion; the Painting is very strong, and no doubt, had you been allowed to proceed, the Peice had been highly finished;

“ To have such a Minister, Sir (meaning the late hunted Minister) in the present melancholy Situation of Affairs, when we stand so much in Need of wise and able Counsellors, I am afraid is not our Fate: But if ever to our Shame, the Annals of this Period shall be delivered down to Posterity, by a faithful Historian, he will have, Sir, a new Portrait to draw of a Minister the most incapable, tho’

“ tho’ the most Ambitious, the Weakest,
 “ tho’ the most Insolent, the most Pusilla-
 “ nimous, tho’ the most Presumptuous.”

Here, Sir, you were stopped, most cruelly stopped, like any *Nisi Prius* Council, merely to call upon you for *Proof*, this was hard indeed, when you were in the midst of your Harangue, when you had so fairly run away from the *S—f—d* Petition, and had entered so deeply into a Thing, that had no more to do with that than a Road Bill, but your Head was full of the martyred Minister, and you were stark wild to be at the Stoning of another. I have heard, that the *Jews* killed the Prophets, and that their Children whitened their Sepulchres, but you outdo them, for in the very same Breath that you whitewash, you are for knocking on the Head, and the very Instant you lay down your Trowel you take up the Bludgeon. It is in vain, Sir, to perswade any Man who has Ears to hear, Eyes to see, or Brains to understand, that we want any Sort of Freedom, or that the Rights and Privileges of the People or their Representatives are in any Kind of Danger, unless of cracking by being overstrained. Your pretending that the honourable Person who stopped you, was provoked by your Commendations of the

Dead, is a manifest Prevarication, he only advised you, not to accuse the Living without Proof ; and this, Sir, your Breeding, your Profession, your Station, ought to have taught you. He who declames away another Man's Character, is a false Witness of the worst Sort, because we have no Law to punish him.

You are then pleased to say, that you will return to your Subject, which is a Confession that you digressed from it, but pray how do you return? By taking up a new Artifice, that of taking Mens Guilt for granted, because they don't equivocate about Facts, but insist rather on the Innocence of their Actions, than their not having acted. By confounding the Act, and the Accusation, the Doer, the Deed, and the Nature of it, you again warm yourself into a Passion, without giving the least Hint of what the mighty Crime is that so transports you, you run on, and rave in the following Terms, merely to shew that after abusing People without Doors, and particular Persons, you were not ashamed or afraid to abuse those within by the lump, or tell them in plain Terms, that if your Language did not prevail upon them, they were as iniquitous and corrupt as the Electors at *Seaford*.
This

This, Sir, I take to be the Sense of what
 follows, “ How great was my Amaze-
 “ ment, when I heard an honorable Gen-
 “ tleman, who was privy to the whole
 “ Transaction, not only admitting every
 “ Fact alledged to be true, but openly
 “ avowing and attempting to justify them!
 “ In what Light they may appear to him,
 “ Sir, he can best tell you, but to me, Sir,
 “ it seems most manifest, that as the Con-
 “ duct complained of, was the greatest In-
 “ jury that could be done to our Privi-
 “ leges, the attempt to justify it, is the
 “ greatest Insult upon our Understanding.
 “ In what other Light, Sir, can it appear
 “ to us than as the last and utmost Effort
 “ of one, who was determined at any
 “ Rate, to procure a Majority in this
 “ House, of Persons attached to himself,
 “ his own Creatures, the Tools of his
 “ Power? I wish to God, Sir, nothing
 “ may happen to Day to give the People
 “ room to suspect, that he has been too
 “ successful. What more, Sir, could he
 “ have done? On what greater insult is it
 “ possible for him to offer, unless he should
 “ come even within the Walls of the
 “ House to direct our Determination? —
 “ After what he has done — I should not
 “ wonder, Sir, if he did come and take
 “ that Chair, and tell you (as we were told
 “ formerly) that your Mace was a Bauble,

“ and that you should keep it only while
 “ you please him — Your Mace, Sir, is a
 “ bauble, and so is every other Ensign
 “ of Authority, unless you can preserve
 “ your Independency.”

In the Name of Wonder, what are we to gather from all this Froth and Fume, and Fire and Flame, and Fury, what is it we can see through this Mist of Words? Is there so much as an Assertion. — No. Supposition all and mere writ of inquiry Language, when Judgment has been snatched by surprize. A L—wy—r of a cooler Constitution, wou'd have set out in another Manner. He would have stated the Charge true or false, he would have talked of Proofs if he had none, and he would have expatiated on the Nature of the Crime, and have shewed what it was before he demanded Judgment. Instead of this, you keep yourself wrapped up in general Terms, accuse one great Man of you know not what, then start aside, and step into a Corner to howl over another, you know not why, unless because you are engaged with those who first vowed, and then pursued him to Destruction; but your fit of Sorrow being soon over, you slide into the Abuse of a third great Man without any Charge at all, unless calling

calling Names be so, and happily for yourself being kept from running the full Career of your Folly, you grow peevish and out of Humour — A Man may take Abuse to himself, — and he may not be mistaken. — It may belong to one — and it may belong to more than one. — I don't care who it belongs to, not I, — so I'll go back to my Subject, that is in plain *English*, you will return to abusing the Person you begun with, which you do very plentifully, without offering one Syllable of Cause, and to shew to what a Degree you are destitute of Proof, you tell the House a wild waking Dream of this noble Person's coming into the House, turning the Speaker out of his Chair, and calling the Mace a Bauble, to get an Opportunity of repeating that favourite Phrase with Impunity.

There was a Time indeed, at which you seem to hint, when *Cromwell* came and turned out the Members that were sitting, and he or some of his wicked Associates, ordered the Mace to be taken away, by that contemptable Name you are so fond of repeating. But, Sir, this was not the Effect of Dependency, either upon Kings or Ministers. it was the Effect of an illegal and unconstitutional Independency, a
 B 3 wild

wild and wanton Abuse of Liberty of Speech, which ought to be held as sacred by those to whom it belongs, as the Privilege of their Station is in the Eyes of our Monarchs and their Ministers. It would have been well if you had explained what Independency you mean, but this is a Speech in which hitherto nothing has been explained. What follows indeed is plain enough of all Conscience, and is visibly calculated to serve very extraordinary Purposes. These could not be served where it was spoken, for those who heard it could not be imposed upon, and therefore it was printed, published, dispersed through the whole Kingdom, that in the remote Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, his Subjects may believe — your own Words shall tell what.

“ A Dependance upon the Crown,
 “ Sir, would in the End prove fatal to
 “ our Liberties, but a Dependance upon
 “ the Minister as it is infinitely more dis-
 “ honourable, is infinitely more dangerous.
 “ One might, Sir, hope some Security to a
 “ People from the Honour of a crowned
 “ Head, and from the solemn Compacts
 “ that are made between them and their
 “ Sovereign. I know of no Compacts
 “ that are or can be made between a Mi-
 “ nister

“ nister and the People. I can suppose
 “ too, Sir, that in some future Time a
 “ Minister may arise profligate enough to
 “ carry his Views so high, as to attempt
 “ to make both King and People subser-
 “ vient to his own Ambition : I can ima-
 “ gine such an one, Sir, taking Advantage
 “ of some general Calamity or Time of
 “ general Confusion by a C——t Parlia-
 “ mentary Influence, oppressing even the
 “ King upon the Throne, and making
 “ the crowned Head a Prisoner in his
 “ Closet. I can imagine him, Sir, so
 “ blown up with Folly and Self-conceit,
 “ as to become a Competitor, even with
 “ those who shall be of Royal Blood for
 “ Posts of Dignity or Titles of Honour,
 “ and he may, Sir, (it is hardly possible
 “ indeed) but he may even prostitute the
 “ Name of the Crown to support and as-
 “ sist his Pretensions. This, Sir, I say,
 “ is a Picture which I can draw in my
 “ own Mind, of the miserable Situation
 “ of this Country, if ever the Parliament
 “ should become dependant on a Minister.
 “ But as this can never happen but in
 “ some Time of general Infatuation, or
 “ general Corruption ; the Wisdom and
 “ Virtue of the present Age secure us
 “ from seeing it otherwise than in Ima-
 “ gination : But, Sir, whatever I see, or
 B 4 “ whatever

“ whatever I feel, God forbid, that by
 “ any Act or Voie of mine, I should
 “ make the Way easy for such Miseries,
 “ to overwhelm any future Generation.”

You had before told your Hearers, that you did not take yourself to be so ill a Painter, as to make it necessary for you to write the Names of those under your Pieces to whom they belong, and therefore, Sir, we must attribute it to the Thickness of our own Sculls, and not to any Deficiency in your Skill, if we do not understand what is meant by it. Yet I must crave Leave, and it is for your Benefit that I crave it, to suggest that by this Time much Zeal had made you Mad, and that you really did not know your own Meaning. Do not be angry, dear Sir, with this Freedom, because I do sincerely assure you, that it is kindly intended, and that I purely suggest your talking Nonsense, to take off the Imputation of your speaking Treason.

Upon my Word, Sir, now your Speech is printed, and your Passion probably a little cooled, you will upon a Review of it, find some very dark and mysterious, some very loose and unguarded, some very daring and dangerous Expressions.

— A

—A M—r profligate enough to carry his Views so high as to attempt to make both King and People subservient to his own Ambition.—Taking Advantage of some general Calamity, or Time of general Confusion, to oppress the King upon his Throne, and make the crowned Head a Prisoner in his Closet.—These very strange Suggestions, seem to be drawn in by Head and Shoulders upon this Occasion, and if they are not entirely foreign to the Purpose, are Things of a very high Nature, more especially if we consider where they were spoken, and the Opportunity now taken of publishing them. I do really, Sir, believe that you were transported a little beyond the Bounds of your own Apprehension, and by supposing one Thing, and then another, came at last to suppose, you did not know what, at least, I would advise you to concur with me in giving this Turn, to the Thing that it may not take a worse.

What I have advanced for your Service, may certainly be of Use, if you are inclined to make it so, for what follows in your Speech, is so very wild and extravagant, tho' the Extravagance is of a lower and less dangerous Nature, that it may very well countenance the Interpretation

I have

I have given it, and make the whole pass for a Sally of *Bedlam* Eloquence, a Kind of Patriot Phrency, and the Language of a Man whom the Affectation of publick Spirit had made mad. This, Sir, is the Conclusion of your Rant. " The honour-
 " able Gentleman was pleased to say, that
 " this was a new Case, and that there was
 " no Precedent upon our Journals to guide
 " our Proceedings: But let it be remembred,
 " Sir, that this can never be the Case again,
 " since the Vote of to Day will remain u-
 " pon our Books, an eternal Precedent to
 " Posterity, and a Law to this House for
 " the Future. For God's Sake then, Sir,
 " let us consider a little, what Sort of a
 " Law we are going to make, let us re-
 " member, that if the present Transaction
 " passes uncensured, and is declared free
 " from Guilt, we may hereafter see every
 " Peer of Parliament, every Secretary, and
 " other Officers of State, every Chancellor
 " of the Exchequer, with his Treasury
 " Bags under his Arm, attending and sol-
 " liciting Elections, and when they shall
 " be called upon in this House to justify
 " their Proceedings, they shall tell you,
 " they have done nothing but what they
 " had a Right to do, and that such was the
 " Opinion of this wise, this independent,
 " this freely elected Parliament."

Who-

Whoever considers these dictatorial Expressions, and compares them with your Age, your Authority, your Experience, and your thorough Acquaintance with Parliamentary Affairs, will very possibly come to have a Relish for what I have offered on your Behalf. There are without doubt, most extraordinary Charms in the Sound of *Hear him! Hear him!* and the Sight of Numbers of Heads inclined over the Gallery to drink the Music of a fine Tongue, and to applaud as at the Play-house, every bold Stroke and round turned Period. These Things are very apt to turn the Brain, and intoxicate the Understanding, more especially, if they are accompanied with any previous Indisposition of the Mind, such as Pique, Prejudice, Resentment, Party-Engagements, and ambitious Hopes, or of a Vanity of passing for a Man of fine Parts. Betrayed by such an unlucky Concurrence of Circumstances, one may easily apprehend, that a Man's Thoughts may run away with him, or rather his Words from his Thoughts, which will make the Case still more excuseable.

If there are any who are unwilling to receive this Apology, which I sincerely affirm, is in my Judgment the best that can
be

be made for you, let him but seriously read over the Conclusion of your pathetic Oration, and he will be infallibly convinced, since it is precisely in that Style which is the surest Characteristic of a political Enthusiast, one whose Wit, and Learning, and Parts, and Sense, and Judgment are run away with, by a Propensity to appear a more significant Person than he really is.

“ Sir, I am not one of those Persons
 “ who will ever be for extending the Pri-
 “ vileges of this House to any ridiculous
 “ or romantick Degree : If I could but
 “ persuade myself, that there was the least
 “ room to doubt upon this Occasion, I
 “ should think that Humanity obliged
 “ me to put the mildest Construction,
 “ But really, Sir, upon my Word, I think
 “ the Insult offered to the House, to be of
 “ so flagrant a Nature, I think the Pre-
 “ cedent must prove so dangerous to the
 “ Honour and Independency of Parlia-
 “ ment, I think the Consequences must
 “ be so destructive to the Constitution, as
 “ to deserve and demand the severest Ani-
 “ madversion. The honourable Gentle-
 “ man was pleased to ask what is the
 “ Object of the Petition? Sir, I will tell
 “ him what the Object is, it is the Secu-
 “ rity,

" rity, the Freedom of Parliaments, and
 " protecting the Privileges of the Com-
 " mons of *Great Britain*. Surely, Sir,
 " from this House the Commons of *Great*
 " *Britain* have a Right to expect Justice:
 " Their most valuable Privileges have
 " been trampled upon, and insulted, and
 " they come now by this Petition to de-
 " mand Justice : Justice, Sir, they will
 " receive, and I hope *now* but of one
 " Thing, I am sure that sooner or lat-
 " ter they *will* have it."

That you may be convinced there is
 nothing of Irony in what I say, either to
 you, or for you ; I must take the Liberty
 of examining this concluding Paragraph a
 little more closely. There is in it a great
 Degree of Heat, an awkward Attempt to
 hide it, some Pretence to Moderation a-
 midst the most glaring Marks of Preju-
 dice, strong Assertions without the smallest
 Mixture either of Evidence or Argument,
 Reproof of another Gentleman for ask-
 ing a very pertinent Question, an Answer
 saucily promised, and then scurvily declin-
 ed, after which, you ring the Changes
 upon Justice, as if you made it your Pro-
 fession to burlesque it. You say at your
 Rising up, that you meant to do Justice
 to yourself, soon after you talk of Justice

to the H—— then of Justice to be done to the People; but this Justice is to be done you know not how, you say not why, but it is to be done by Parliament, and if they do not **do** it, you threaten them with the Power of the People. By this Conclusion, we find out the Meaning of what you meant in your Opening, by doing yourself Justice. You have, it seems, assumed the high Office of Attorney General for the Nation, this Oration is to be understood as spoke on their Behalf, and the Sting in the Tail relates to your Publication, your acquainting the Nation, that you did demand Justice in their Name, and that your Demand made no Impression.—And to what End all this? —Why, plainly that the People may make good what you have promised, and vowed in their Name, and *obtain* it *sooner* or *later*. You do not indeed say *how*, but the following Note at the Bottom of the Speech is a pretty broad Intimation.

“ The Petition was dismissed by a Majority of 151 *being the first Division.* ”

The Words printed in *Italick*, give the World to understand what they are to expect

pect from those, who on the first Division treated so warm a Patriot, and so able a Speech-maker with so little Ceremony, for which, in Justice to yourself, it seems they are thus delivered up to the Relentment of those whom you esteem your Clients, such is the clear and direct Sense of this Note, by way of Admonition, and I defy you, or any Man living, to give it a milder, or indeed any other Interpretation, that at the same Time would make Sense of it.

Now, that we have gone through the whole, and have seen all you said, or could say upon this memorable Occasion, let us endeavour to discover, what a judicious and conscientious Advocate would have said, on an Affair of this Nature, supposing him to be acted by that Spirit, to which you pretend, and as intent upon obtaining Justice, as you seem to be. Such a Person, Sir, would undoubtedly have stated the Facts clearly from the Petition of which in your Harangue there is not a Word, but instead thereof a long Train of declamatory Assertions, which are not in the Petition, and consequently are beside the Purpose. He would then have shewn the Nature of the Offence, how it arose, who were injured, how far
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the Injustice reached, and what the Consequences must be of leaving such an Offence unpunished ; whereas, if any Thing of this Kind was to be collected from your Harangue, it must be by Conjecture. In his Conclusion he would, as your Opponent rightly observed, have stated *the Object* of the Petition, and have shewn what Kind of Justice he demanded, how it was to be obtained, from whom, and upon what Grounds in Law, for in this Country it ought always to be remembred, that we are governed by Laws, that in this consists our Happiness, and that this is the real Basis of our Freedom. Besides, the very Demand of Justice implies all this, he is just who fulfills the Law, and he is unjust who violates it ; and therefore, whoever talks of Injustice, without laying down what the Law is, and without shewing how it has been violated, talks without Book ; and a general Demand of Justice, without expressing upon what that Demand is founded, is not Argument but Clamour, and ought to be treated by those who have a due Regard for their Liberties in that very Manner, which this Harangue of yours was treated.

There is no doubt at all to be made, that the Wellare of this Nation depends

in a very great Degree on the Freedom and Probity of the H—— of C—; that according to our Constitution, Liberty of Speech is a Privilege inherent to that Assembly, and that they are the sole Judges of Elections. But certainly, if all this be so, it is the highest Invasion of the Rights and Privileges of that House, to misrepresent their Proceedings, or to question the Justice of their Decisions. We have of late Years seen so many and so great Instances of the Authority of this House, that if we have any Regard to Facts, which are surely the strongest Kind of Evidence, we cannot have the least Doubt of its being in full Possession of Constitutional Independency, that is, of acting spontaneously and without feeling any Influence, from another Power. Neither does there seem the least Ground for Apprehension, that this Independency can be lessened or infringed, otherwise than by attempting to subject that H—— to the Will and Pleasure of the Populace, and there is no Doubt that this would have very dreadful and fatal Effects, and would be to all Intents and Purposes as much a Subversion of our legal Constitution, as the Introduction of any other Kind of Tyranny whatever. We have all the Reason, that the Nature of the Thing requires or even will admit to

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believe, that in regard to their Weight, their Interest, and their Property, the present H—— of C—— is as respectable a Body as any Representative of the C—— of G—— B—— that has been seen in our Times ; and as to Liberty of Speech, this very Speech, if it was really spoken, is such a Testimony as can never be got over. We ought therefore to conclude, that in the very important Point of Judicature, a H—— of C—— so constituted, will always do themselves Justice, and consequently those they represent ; and to harbour a Suspicion of the Contrary, is a Thing that would be absolutely ridiculous, if at the same Time it was not seditious and dangerous, and for this Reason only it merits to be exposed.

It is however true, that as every H—— of C—— is composed of Men only, who have their Failings, and Frailties as well as those whom they represent, so it is not at all impossible that they may be corrupted, and in that Case there is nothing more certain than that the Nation must suffer exceedingly. But there are many Ways by which they may be corrupted, and consequently the Effects of this Corruption will be very different. Our History shew us various Instances of the House of Commons

mons being awed by tyrannical Princes, as in the Time of *Richard II.* when the Place of their Meeting was surrounded by an armed Force, and again in the Reign *Henry VIII.* when the Prerogative was so exorbitantly stretched, that there was scarce any other Power visible in the Constitution, except that of the Crown. But these external Injuries, though grievous for the Time, were not lasting; for flowing as they did from the Will of a single Person, they, by Degrees, ran Things to such Extremities, as not only required but procured a Remedy. In the Reign of *Charles II* another Kind of Corruption prevailed, which was that of influencing the Members by Pensions, Places, and Rewards, which however did not last long, for as such a Proceeding as this could not be concealed, so the bare Detection of it destroyed it; the very Minister, who introduced it, was sacrificed by the very P—— in which he introduced it, and the Prince, whom he had flattered with the Hopes of a new Method of managing P—— was reduced to the sad Necessity of governing without P—— which his Subjects scarce understood to be any Government at all.

These are the only Kinds of external Corruption, or rather external Influence that have been known to operate at any Time upon the Representatives of the Nation, and the Reality of the Operation was very quickly as well as indisputably made known from its Consequences. In this the Safety of the Nation consisted, for as soon as it was perceived, all who had any Regard to the Welfare of their Country, concurred in promoting the Measures that were requisite for removing the oppressive Power in the first Case, and for purging out the infectious Matter in the second, so that if from these Cases we may truly collect, that Corruption is a Thing possible, we may from thence with the like Certainty infer, that any Corruption of either of these Kinds cannot remain long invisible, but must be made evident from its Effects. As to the first, open Force cannot be hid, and to talk of the Influence of the Crown as dangerous to the People, when we see its Prerogative circumscribed within much narrower Bounds than it ever was, is to threaten us with Inundations in a Time of Droughth, and to set up the Fictions of Fancy against the Evidence of our Senses. To talk of the other Kind of Corruption in the same Breath with the Downfall of a Mi-

a Minister who deserved well of his Country, and to insinuate a Decay of Liberty in licentious Speeches, is the mere Rhetorick of Contradictions, and the Politician who hopes to make this pass upon rational Men, is as wild, as a Physician, who should insist upon the Ravages made by the Plague and attempt to prove it by the common Bills of Mortality, that is, by an Argument which thoroughly considered demonstrates incontestably the very Contrary.

But as it is well known that the most dangerous and intractable Distempers in the natural Body, proceed from vitiated Habits, and the Alteration of the Juices, by slow and almost imperceptible Degrees, we have Reason to doubt that the same Kind of Maladies may be as fatal to the Body politic, and ought therefore to be upon our Guard against them, since we see that Persons seemingly in good Health, are liable to Appoplexies and other Kinds of sudden Deaths, of which, however, some Warnings might have been had, or some Indications perceived, if the Person had been diligently watched. Agreeable to this Doctrine, we find that the most learned Politicians lay it down

as a thing certain, that the latent Seeds of seditious and civil Wars, may be discovered as soon as they begin first to act, to the Prejudice of the Constitution, and consequently the dreadful Mischiefs which they occasion, may, by timely Application of proper Remedies be absolutely prevented, and this, perhaps, with very little Noise or Trouble, whereas if through Neglect they are suffered to insinuate themselves into the Mass of the People, palliative Cures alone take Place, and a radical Extirpation of the Evil is not to be hoped for.

This, perhaps you will say, is very obscure, but at the same Time, you must allow, that it is very decent Language. It is by no Means my Intention to inflame the Passions or disturb the Heads of my Readers, all I am at, is to engage them to open their Eyes, and to see Things as they really are for their own Advantage. It was with this View that I took the Pains of making the former Comparison, and with the same Design I shall labour to explain it. In short, tho' the acute Distempers of a Nation are always sharp, sometimes very violent, yet they are seldom dangerous, but it is quite otherwise,

otherwise with regard to cronical Diseases, when through a Change in the interior Parts of the State, a Consumption is sometimes far advanced before the least Appearance of Danger is seen, and yet if due Care is taken as soon as those Appearances are seen, all may end well, and the Common-wealth be restored to full Health and Vigour.

The first Principles of such bad Habits in the Body Politick, are false Notions of Liberty, for by following these Men, pursue with a Rash and misguided Zeal, Schemes that naturally turn to their Ruin, for wherever these prevail, they are sure to take every thing by the wrong Handle, and by supposing that there is a Difference between the Interests of those that govern, and such as are governed, actually create a Difference, not of Interests, for that can never be, but of Opinions, with respect to those Interests, and this is the original Cause of Factions, where by the Art and Cunning of a few, the many are converted into mere Machines and are acted like Puppets, by those, who have Boldness enough to assume the Management of them. Ancient and modern History afford us many Instances of this, and in
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no History more of these occur, than in our own, which if we read with Caution, and consider with Diligence, we shall find that more and greater Misfortunes have been entailed upon us, by the Intrigues of pretended Patriots, than by the wicked Endeavours of the worst of Ministers, and the Reason of this may be easily found, for against the former we are seldom armed, whereas we soon discover, and as soon begin to oppose the latter, against whom as you say, sooner or later, the People will have Justice.

Now the Mischief lies here, that Mistakes are often made upon this Head, and wise and good Ministers are oppressed by Dirt of Misrepresentations, and tho' you may account it a Paradox, and treat it as such, yet from Reason and History it may be shewn, that false Pretenders to Patriotism find it easier to oppress good Ministers, than true Patriots find it practicable to bring bad ones to Justice. For those who govern a Nation well and wisely, very frequently furnishes Arms against themselves, by cherishing Freedom above all Things, and encouraging that Spirit which bad Men having once perverted, soon works their Ruin. All Ministers

nisters are possessed of Power, and there is in the People a natural Jealousy of such as are in Possession of Power, let them employ it, how they will, neither is there any Thing easier, than by insidious Arts to give a wrong Turn to this Jealousy by giving false Colours, not only to the most innocent but to the most laudable Actions. We have had many great and good as well as several weak and wicked Ministers, but it may be very easily shewn, that the former have been always as much opposed, and frequently worse treated than the latter. The Minister whose Character stands fairest in our History is the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and yet, I very much doubt, whether so many Libels were penned against any other Minister as against him. His whole Administration consisted in struggling against open Enemies Abroad, and against secret Conspiracies and the Intrigues of false Patriots at Home, for false Patriots there were, even in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and very remarkable it is, that those, who at the Bottom had no Principles of Religion, Loyalty or Virtue, were the greatest Pretenders to all these, and to publick Spirit into the Bargain, read their Speeches, look into their Writings, and you would think

think them somewhat more than Men, but if you examine their Actions, they appear the blackest of Mankind.

But by this Time you will be apt to enquire, What Relation all this has to the present Times, or to your Speech, and I am very sorry that it is so much in my Power, to give an Answer to this. The Happiness and Welfare of this Nation depends upon a perfect Harmony between the Government and its Subjects, and as this Harmony may be disturbed by the Extension of Power on one Side, so it is liable to be as much or rather more disturbed by an unreasonable Jealousy on the other. The most arbitrary Ministers will for their own Sakes promote the publick Interest in many Instances, as well knowing that their own Power must in a great Measure depend upon the Strength and Credit of the Nation, and this in succeeding Times frequently recommends them to better Characters than they deserved. Thus we find Lord *Herbert*, tho' a very sensible Writer, and a very worthy and upright Man, much inclined to speak kindly of Cardinal *Wolfey*, and favourably of his Administration ; whereas in milder Reigns, when the Prerogative

tive has been kept within due Bounds, Factions have often hindered Ministers from doing what they would gladly have done for the Service of the Publick, and yet not only their Contemporaries, but even Posterity have charged upon their Inability, or Inactivity, what was really the Effects of their want of Authority, and from hence it proceeds, that the fairest Opportunities have been lost, and the greatest Disturbances have happened under Reigns, that might have been the most glorious in our Annals, of which that of King *William* is a pregnant Instance: It was to the Factions in his Time, and not either to him or to his Ministers that we owe that Weight of Debts and Taxes, which has been increasing ever since.

It is from a sincere Sense of the insupportable Weight of this Burthen, and from no servile Intention of making Court to the Great, much less any personal Picque or Prejudice against you, whose Abilities I esteem, and whose Spirit I admire, that I have entered into his Dispute, for I am firmly persuaded that nothing can contribute to ease us of this Load, or deliver us from these Difficulties, which, if they
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are not lessened, will of themselves increase, but the total Extinction of Faction. It is in vain without this to hope for any Redress of our Grievances, which are many and great; but the Causes of which can never be detected, much less removed, while a Spirit of Faction stalks about, and engages one Party to espouse whatever the other shews an Inclination to condemn. It is by this Means that Enquiries are not only often defeated, but also become injurious; and instead of laying open Frauds and reaching the Guilty, produce mistaken Reports, and bring the Innocent into Danger. It is this that clogs every Measure for the publick Service, and disposes a great Part of the Nation, to see with no real Displeasure those Disgraces, Distresses and Disappointments, which they vainly imagine, embarrass those they dislike, they know not why, but in Reality fall heavy upon, and in the End must crush themselves. It is this that has forced so many Administrations to subsist upon Expedients rather than to establish any true System of Politicks, and it is to be feared, that while this continues, every Administration must proceed in the same Way, for there is no travelling, either smoothly or at a great rate, through bad Roads,

Roads, and it will be found in the End, that the only Way to mend our Governors, is to mend ourselves, for Envy, Hatred, and Uncharitableness are as great Vices as Self-interest and Ambition.

We have at present the weightiest Affairs possible upon our Hands, and the Business of the Nation will require all the Care and Diligence that the Members of both H—— of P—— can bestow. They are such as require the strictest Examination; the most calm and serious Reflections, and which never can be thoroughly understood, but from full and free Debates; it therefore their Consultations are perplexed with Party-squabbles, Points of a personal, or particular Nature, or Controversies set on Foot, purely to waste Time, and cross Matters of publick Concern, we have very little to expect; for the Evils that have been already brought upon us by such visible and preposterous Departures, from the great End and only national Design of such Assemblies will be constantly growing, and at last, become too great for the wisest Heads or the stoutest Hearts to remove.

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These are Considerations that will employ the Minds of all such as are true Friends to their Country, who live at a Distance from Courts, and who have no Inclination to enter into Cabals, who see with the utmost Sorrow and Dejection of Heart, an aspiring to Power and Places, by disturbing and distressing those possessed of them, pass upon the unthinking Multitude for publick Spirit, and this notwithstanding many, and some of them very recent Instances of the Falsehood of such Pretensions, which one would think sufficient to cure this Delusion, during our Times at least. These are Sentiments, that if they are thoroughly explained, will undoubtedly gain Ground, and bring the Bulk of the People to have a true Sense of their own Interests, which can never consist with abetting one Party against another, mistaking Clamour for Zeal, or Listening to florid Declamations about nothing, and which mean nothing, as if they were intended to promote Liberty, of which we certainly possess enough, if we knew how, or could agree upon the Means to employ it properly. For Freedom, like all other Things, is a Blessing, only from the Manner in which it is used, and the Vanity of boasting
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of it, without using it is not only a Folly that deserves to be exposed, but a Vice that ought to be exploded. That we are a free People is well enough known to ourselves, and perhaps much better to our Neighbours, there is no need therefore of perpetually proclaiming this by our Words or in our Writings, we ought to shew it in our Behaviour.

The State we are in is assuredly none of the best, but there is one very comfortable Circumstance attends it, which is, that we may be in a better, whenever we please; to attain which, there is no need of sublime and high frown Speculations, or of deep laid and machiavelian Contrivances, the Constitution we have is so good an one, that it needs little or no Reformation and the Government we live under is so mild, that no Man, who has it in his Power to inform the Publick, need be under any Apprehension from speaking his Sentiments freely. It becomes therefore Men of lively Parts and solid Understandings, to bend their Thoughts to Matters of real Importance, and to shew their Inclination of serving their Country, by proposing Ways and Means for extricating her out of her Difficulties. This will
never

never be done, either by crossing the Measures of such as are possessed of Power or intriguing to come at the Possession of it. In order to that, fine Speeches and frothy Eloquence may do much, indeed, we have seen it do but too much already. But to lessen the Expences of Government, and thereby increase the Revenue to employ this solely to publick Purposes, and to create from thence some new Fund for discharging those Debts into which the Necessity of our Circumstances hath forced us to relieve us from such Taxes as injure our Manufactures, and cramp our Trade, without violating private Property, or publick Credit, to encourage a Spirit of Industry, and give a Check to that opposite Spirit of Luxury, Idleness, and Extravagance requires other Talents and another kind of Management. It demands Study, Reflection, and a consummate Knowledge of Mankind, together with a disinterested Love of Virtue, and of our Country.

It is very true, that such a Temper as this is hard to be attained, and the diffusing and rendering it general, seems to be a Task still harder. Yet, if our
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young Politicians would bend their Thoughts this Way, and take Care that there should be an exact Correspondence between their Words and their Actions, it might certainly be effected. For one may with great Truth affirm, that Hypocrisy and Affectation cost infinitely more Pains than are necessary to acquire those Habits, which these only imitate. Neither are Men led to embrace these Phantoms from any other than imperfect and half-formed Notions of the Benefits that may result from them; for a little more Attention would discover, that much greater Advantages might be reached by a shorter Road. Integrity will be always attended by Popularity, and if a Man makes it his Study to discover the publick Interests, and to pursue them, he needs never fear being the Darling of his Country; but to neglect this, and to be led away by the Applause of a little Party, and the Flimsy Politics of a Faction, is the indubitable Mark either of a weak Mind, or of much Inattention.

The very Display of great Parts, tho' in the Cause of false or mimic Patriotism will entitle a Man to publick

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Consideration, and the Commendations bestowed upon him, by improper and unequal Judges, cannot but provoke such as wish well to their Country, and for that very Reason wish every Man of Abilities, embarked in her Service, to point out the Absurdity of such a Conduct, and the Folly of such Applause, because both have the most dangerous Tendency in regard to the Welfare of Society, as on the one Hand, the People are misled into a Belief, that this Sort of Oratory is really for their Service, and on the other Hand every rising Genius is in Danger of being infected by the bad Example, and thereby drawn to imitate what he ought to despise.

The next Sessions from the present Critical Situation of Things at home and abroad, must be of the last Importance to these Kingdoms, and if the Liberty I have taken with your Speech shall in any Degree contribute to bring this puerile Eloquence, which however fit for the Schools, is below the Dignity of the Senate, into that Contempt which it deserves, and shall engage such as desire to distinguish themselves in the Service of their Country, to think and speak and act like Men
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who have so great and glorious an End in View ; it may possibly retrieve the Credit of Patriotism, and prove infinitely beneficial to the present Age, and to Posterity ; if not, my Time and Pains are thrown away, and you will still retain the Reputation of an Orator, which tho' I do not think your Performance merits, yet I am thoroughly convinced you have it in your Power to merit whenever you think fit, and that you may do so, and become as considerable as you desire to be, by noble and honest Means, is the sincere Wish of,

S I R,

*Your unknown Friend, and hearty
Well-wisher.*

who have so great and glorious an End
in View; it may possibly retrieve the City
die of London, and prove infinitely
beneficial to the present Age, and to
Posterity; if not, my Time and Pains are
thrown away, and you will still retain the
Reputation of an Quack, which tho' I do
not think you deserve, yet I
am thorough that you have it in
your Power to lose, however you think
it, and that you may do so, and become
as contemptible as you desire to be, by
noble and honest Means, is the Interest
Wish of



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Your obedient Servant, and Son
Wm. Carter.

